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ABSTRACT

This special report presents the resolution on language adopted by members of the Conference on College Composition and Communication in April 1974, and the background statement explaining and supporting the resolution. The statement includes answers to some of the questions the resolution might raise, such as: What is meant by dialect? Why and how do dialects differ? How do we acquire our dialects? Why do some dialects have more prestige than others? Does dialect affect the ability to read and write? Does dialect limit the ability to think? What do we do about standardized tests? and What sort of knowledge about language do English teachers need? A bibliography of 129 entries on the subject of students' right to their own language is also included. (SW)

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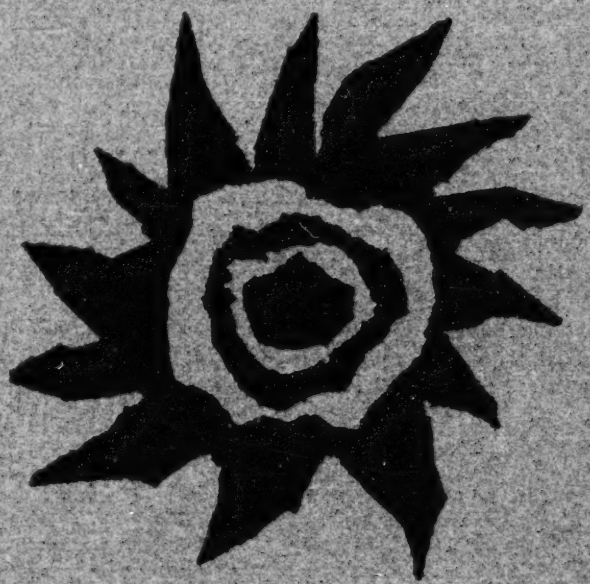

Students' Right to Their Own Language

ED 101410
CS 201 485

To Readers of *CCC:*

This special issue of *CCC* includes the resolution on language adopted by members of CCCC in April 1974; the background statement explaining and supporting that resolution; and the bibliography that gives sources of some of the ideas presented in the background statement, besides offering those interested in the subject of language some suggested references for further reading. This publication climaxes two years of work, by dedicated members of CCCC, toward a position statement on a major problem confronting teachers of composition and communication: how to respond to the variety in their students' dialects.

A first draft of the resolution on language was presented to the Executive Committee at its meeting in March 1972, by a committee specially appointed by the officers in the fall of 1971 to prepare a position statement on students' dialects. After some amendments adopted by the Executive Committee at its meeting in November 1972, the resolution reads:

> **We affirm the students' right to their own patterns and varieties of language—the dialects of their nurture or whatever dialects in which they find their own identity and style. Language scholars long ago denied that the myth of a standard American dialect has any validity. The claim that any one dialect is unacceptable amounts to an attempt of one social group to exert its dominance over another. Such a claim leads to false advice for speakers and writers, and immoral advice for humans. A nation proud of its diverse heritage and its cultural and racial variety will preserve its heritage of dialects. We affirm strongly that teachers must have the experiences and training that will enable them to respect diversity and uphold the right of students to their own language.**

Realizing that the resolution would be controversial, and that it contained many assertions that could best be explained by reference to current research on dialects and usage, the Executive Committee appointed a special committee to draft a statement that would offer this explanatory background. The special committee reported at its New Orleans meeting in 1973, where its initial draft statement was thoroughly discussed. A revised draft was presented to and accepted by the Executive Committee at the Philadelphia NCTE meeting in November 1973. The resolution and background statement were then distributed to members of CCCC, and the resolution was considered at the regular business meeting in Anaheim in April 1974. It was adopted as the policy of CCCC by a vote of 79-20.

Because of the interest generated by the resolution and background statement, the officers decided that it should be sent to members in durable form, as a special issue of *CCC*, and should be made available to anyone interested in obtaining copies.

All members of CCCC, I think, owe much to the members of the committee (see inside back cover) that wrote this perceptive statement, which has won the praise of many linguists and rhetoricians. Special thanks are due to Richard Lloyd-Jones, who synthesized the contributions of different committee members into the final text you now have. Special thanks are due, also, to Melvin Butler of Southern University, chairperson of the special committee, whose untimely death prevented him from seeing the publication of the statement on which he and his fellow committee members worked so faithfully. This issue of *CCC* will be, we hope, a lasting tribute to his efforts.

Richard L. Larson
1974 Chair, CCCC

Students' Right to Their Own Language

Introduction

American schools and colleges have, in the last decade, been forced to take a stand on a basic educational question: what should the schools do about the language habits of students who come from a wide variety of social, economic, and cultural backgrounds? The question is not new. Differences in language have always existed, and the schools have always wrestled with them, but the social upheavals of the 1960's, and the insistence of submerged minorities on a greater share in American society, have posed the question more insistently and have suggested the need for a shift in emphasis in providing answers. Should the schools try to uphold language variety, or to modify it, or to eradicate it?

The emotional nature of the controversy has obscured the complexities of the problem and hidden some of the assumptions that must be examined before any kind of rational policy can be adopted. The human use of language is not a simple phenomenon: sophisticated research in linguistics and sociology has demonstrated incontrovertibly that many long held and passionately cherished notions about language are misleading at best, and often completely erroneous. On the other hand, linguistic research, advanced as much of it is, has not yet produced any absolute, easily understood, explanation of how people acquire language or how habits acquired so early in life that they defy conscious analysis can be consciously changed. Nor is the linguistic information that is available very widely disseminated. The training of most English teachers has concentrated on the appreciation and analysis of literature, rather than on an understanding of the nature of language, and many teachers are, in consequence, forced to take a position on an aspect of their discipline about which they have little real information.

And if teachers are often uninformed, or misinformed, on the subject of language, the general public is even more ignorant. Lack of reliable information, however, seldom prevents people from discussing language questions with an air of absolute authority. Historians, mathematicians, and nurses all hold decided views on just what English teachers should be requiring. And through their representatives on Boards of Education and Boards of Regents, businessmen, politicians, parents, and the students themselves insist that the values taught by the schools must reflect the prejudices held by the public. The English profession, then, faces a dilemma: until public attitudes can be changed—and it is worth remembering that the past teaching in English classes has been largely responsible for those attitudes—shall we place our emphasis on what the vocal elements of the public think it wants or on what the actual available linguistic evidence indicates we should emphasize? Shall we blame the business world by saying, "Well, we realize that human beings use language in a wide variety of ways, but employers demand a single variety"?

Before these questions can be responsibly answered, English teachers at all levels, from kindergarten through college, must uncover and examine some of the assumptions on which our teaching

has rested. Many of us have taught as though there existed somewhere a single American "standard English" which could be isolated, identified, and accurately defined. We need to know whether "standard English" is or is not in some sense a myth. We have ignored, many of us, the distinction between speech and writing and have taught the language as though the *talk* in any region, even the talk of speakers with prestige and power, were identical to edited *written* English.

We have also taught, many of us, as though the "English of educated speakers," the language used by those in power in the community, had an inherent advantage over other dialects as a means of expressing thought or emotion, conveying information, or analyzing concepts. We need to discover whether our attitudes toward "educated English" are based on some inherent superiority of the dialect itself or on the social prestige of those who use it. We need to ask ourselves whether our rejection of students who do not adopt the dialect most familiar to us is based on any real merit in our dialect or whether we are actually rejecting the students themselves, rejecting them because of their racial, social, and cultural origins.

And many of us have taught as though the function of schools and colleges were to erase differences. Should we, on the one hand, urge creativity and individuality in the arts and the sciences, take pride in the diversity of our historical development, and, on the other hand, try to obliterate all the differences in the way Americans speak and write? Our major emphasis has been on uniformity, in both speech and writing; would we accomplish more, both educationally and ethically, if we shifted that emphasis to precise, effective, and appropriate communication in diverse ways, whatever the dialect?

Students are required by law to attend schools for most of their adolescent years, and are usually required by curriculum makers to take English every one of those years, often including "developmental" or "compensatory" English well into college if their native dialect varies from that of the middle class. The result is that students who come from backgrounds where the prestigious variety of English is the normal medium of communication have built-in advantages that enable them to succeed, often in spite of and not because of, their schoolroom training in "grammar." They sit at the head of the class, are accepted at "exclusive" schools, and are later rewarded with positions in the business and social world. Students whose nurture and experience give them a different dialect are usually denied these rewards. As English teachers, we are responsible for what our teaching does to the self-image and the self-esteem of our students. We must decide what elements of our discipline are really important to us, whether we want to share with our students the richness of all varieties of language, encourage linguistic virtuosity, and say with Langston Hughes:

> I play it cool and dig all jive
> That's the reason I stay alive
> My motto as I live and learn
> Is to dig and be dug in return.

It was with these concerns in mind that the Executive Committee of the Conference on College Composition and Communication, in 1972, passed the following resolution:

> We affirm the students' right to their own patterns and varieties of language—the dialects of their nurture or whatever dialects in which they find their own identity and style. Language scholars long ago denied that the myth of a standard American dialect has any validity. The claim that any one dialect is unacceptable amounts to an attempt of one social group to

exert its dominance over another. Such a claim leads to false advice for speakers and writers, and immoral advice for humans. A nation proud of its diverse heritage and its cultural and racial variety will preserve its heritage of dialects. We affirm strongly that teachers must have the experiences and training that will enable them to respect diversity and uphold the right of students to their own language.

The members of the Committee realized that the resolution would create controversy and that without a clear explanation of the linguistic and social knowledge on which it rests, many people would find it incomprehensible. The members of the Executive Committee, therefore, requested a background statement which would examine some common misconceptions about language and dialect, define some key terms, and provide some suggestions for sounder, alternate approaches. What follows is not, then, an introductory course in linguistics, nor is it a teaching guide. It is, we hope, an answer to some of the questions the resolution will raise.

I. What Do We Mean by Dialect?

A dialect is a variety of a language used by some definable group. Everyone has a personal version of language, an idiolect, which is unique, and closely related groups of idiolects make up dialects. By custom, some dialects are spoken. Others are written. Some are shared by the community at large. Others are confined to small communities, neighborhoods, or social groups. Because of this, most speakers, consciously or unconsciously, use more than one dialect. The need for varying dialects may arise from a speaker's membership in different age or educational groups. Or, it may arise from membership in groups tied to physical localities. The explanation of what a dialect is becomes difficult when we recognize that dialects are developed in response to many kinds of communication needs. And further complications occur because the user of a specific dialect, as a function of habit, can choose alternate forms which seem effective for given situations.

A dialect is the variety of language used by a group whose linguistic habit patterns both reflect and are determined by shared regional, social, or cultural perspectives. The user of a specific dialect employs the phonological (pronunciation), lexical (vocabulary), and syntactic patterns (word arrangement) and variations of the given "community." Because geographical and social isolation are among the causes of dialect differences, we can roughly speak about regional and social dialects. Regional differences in phonology may become quite evident when one hears a Bostonian say "pahk the cah" where a Midwesterner would say "parrk the car." Regional differences in vocabulary are also quite noticeable as in the words used throughout the country for a carbonated drink. Depending on where one is geographically, you can hear "soda," "soda water," "sweet soda," "soft drink," "tonic," "pop," or "cold drink." Regional differences in syntactic patterns are found in such statements as "The family is to home," and "The family is at home." Social differences can also be detected. Social differences in phonology are reflected in "goil" versus "girl." Social differences in vocabulary are reflected in the distinctions made between "restaurant" and "cafe." Syntactic phrases such as "those flowers" tend to have more prestige than "them flowers," and "their flowers" has more prestige than "they flowers."

It is not surprising to find two or more social dialects co-existing in a given region. In small towns where a clear social cleavage exists between the wealthier, more educated portion of the population

and the mass of people, the difference may be reflected in their speechways. The local banker whose dialect reveals his group allegiance to the statewide financial community still is able to communicate easily with the local farmhand who may rarely cross the county line and whose linguistic habit patterns reveal different allegiances.

In many larger American cities people of the same ethnic origins tend to live in a single neighborhood and have a common culture and thus share a dialect. Through their clothing, games, and holidays they may preserve the values and customs of the "old country" or "back home." And in their restaurants, churches, schools, and homes, one may hear the linguistic values and customs of their heritage preserved. For example, a neighborhood group's cultural orientation may encourage its members to differentiate between action and intention in the immediate future and in a still-further immediate future through "I'm a-do it" and "I'm a'gonna do it." Yet, a neighborhood is not a country, so speakers of several dialects may mingle there and understand each other. Visitors with yet another heritage may render an approximation of such differentiation through "I'll do it now" and "I'll do it soon." Pride in cultural heritage and linguistic habit patterns need not lead either group to attack the other as they mingle and communicate.

II. Why and How Do Dialects Differ?

Differences in dialects derive from events in the history of the communities using the language, not from supposed differences in intelligence or physiology. Although they vary in phonology, in vocabulary, and in surface grammatical patterns, the differences between neighboring dialects are not sufficiently wide to prevent full mutual comprehension among speakers of those dialects. That is to say, when speakers of a dialect of American English claim not to understand speakers of another dialect of the same language, the impediments are likely to be attitudinal. What is really the hearer's resistance to any unfamiliar form may be interpreted as the speaker's fault. For example, an unfamiliar speech rhythm and resulting pronunciation while ignoring the content of the message. When asked to respond to the content, they may be unable to do so and may accuse the speaker of being impossible to understand. In another situation, vocabulary differences may require that the hearers concentrate more carefully on contextual cues. If the word "bad" is being used as a term of praise, the auditor may have to pay unusual attention to context. Although the usual redundancies of speech ordinarily will provide sufficient cues to permit a correct interpretation, still the auditor has to work harder until he becomes accustomed to the differences. The initial difficulties of perception can be overcome and should not be confused with those psychological barriers to communication which may be generated by racial, cultural and social differences and attitudes.

III. How Do We Acquire Our Dialects?

The manner in which children acquire language (and hence dialect) competence is unknown in spite of some research and much speculation on the subject. Theories ranging from the purely behavioristic to the highly metaphysical have been proposed. What is demonstrable, and hence known, is that children at very early ages begin to acquire performance skills in the dialect(s) used in their environment, and that this process is amazingly rapid compared to many other types of learning.

Before going to school, children possess basic competence in their dialects. For

example, children of six know how to manipulate the rules for forming plurals in their dialects. In some dialects children add an "s" to the word to be pluralized as in "book/books." In some other dialects, plurality is signaled by the use of the preceding word as in "*one* book/ *two* book." But in either instance children have mastered the forms of plurality and have learned a principle of linguistic competence. It is important to remember that plurality signals for the nurture dialect reflect children's reality and will be their first choice in performance; plurality rules for another dialect may simply represent to them the rituals of someone else's linguistic reality.

IV. Why Do Some Dialects Have More Prestige Than Others?

In a specific setting, because of historical and other factors, certain dialects may be endowed with more prestige than others. Such dialects are sometimes called "standard" or "consensus" dialects. These designations of prestige are not inherent in the dialect itself, but are *externally imposed*, and the prestige of a dialect shifts as the power relationships of the speakers shift.

The English language at the beginning of its recorded history was already divided into distinct regional dialects. These enjoyed fairly equal prestige for centuries. However, the centralization of English political and commercial life at London gradually gave the dialect spoken there a preeminence over other dialects. This process was far advanced when printing was invented; consequently, the London dialect became the dialect of the printing press, and the dialect of the printing press became the so-called "standard" even though a number of oral readings of one text would reveal different pronunciations and rhythmic patterns across dialects. When the early American settlers arrived on this continent, they brought their British dialects with them. Those dialects were altered both by regional separation from England and concentration into sub-groups within this country as well as by contact with the various languages spoken by the Indians they found here and with the various languages spoken by the immigrants who followed.

At the same time, social and political attitudes formed in the old world followed to the new, so Americans sought to achieve linguistic marks of success as exemplified in what they regarded as proper, cultivated usage. Thus the dialect used by prestigious New England speakers early became the "standard" the schools attempted to teach. It remains, during our own time, the dialect that style books encourage us to represent in writing. The diversity of our cultural heritage, however, has created a corresponding language diversity and, in the 20th century, most linguists agree that there is no single, homogeneous American "standard." They also agree that, although the amount of prestige and power possessed by a group can be recognized through its dialect, no dialect is inherently good or bad.

The need for a written dialect to serve the larger, public community has resulted in a general commitment to what may be called "edited American English," that prose which is meant to carry information about our representative problems and interests. To carry such information through aural-oral media, "broadcast English" or "network standard" has been developed and given precedence. Yet these dialects are subject to change, too. Even now habit patterns from other types of dialects are being incorporated into them. Our pluralistic society requires many varieties of language to meet our multiplicity of needs.

V. How Can Concepts from Modern Linguistics Help Clarify the Question of Dialects?

Several concepts from modern linguistics clarify and define problems of dialect. Recent studies verify what our own casual observation should lead us to believe—namely, that intelligence is not a factor in the child's acquisition of a basic language system. In fact, only when I.Q. is at about fifty or below does it become significant in retarding the rate and completeness with which children master their native spoken dialect. Dialect switching, however, becomes progressively more difficult as the speaker grows older. As one passes from infancy to childhood to adolescence and to maturity, language patterns become more deeply ingrained and more a part of the individual's self-concept; hence they are more difficult to alter.

Despite ingrained patterns characteristic of older people, every speaker of a language has a tremendous range of versatility, constantly making subtle changes to meet various situations. That is, speakers of a language have mastered a variety of ranges and levels of usage; no one's idiolect, however well established, is monolithic and inflexible. This ability of the individual speaker to achieve constant and subtle modulations is so pervasive that it usually goes unnoticed by the speaker and the hearers alike.

The question, then, is not whether students can make language changes, for they do so all the time, but whether they can step over the hazily defined boundaries that separate dialects. Dialect switching is complicated by many factors, not the least of which is the individual's own cultural heritage. Since dialect is not separate from culture, but an intrinsic part of it, accepting a new dialect means accepting a new culture; rejecting one's native dialect is to some extent a rejection of one's culture.

Therefore, the question of whether or not students *will* change their dialect involves their acceptance of a new—and possibly strange or hostile—set of cultural values. Although many students *do* become bidialectal, and many *do* abandon their native dialects, those who don't switch may have any of a number of reasons, some of which may be beyond the school's right to interfere.

In linguistic terms the normal teenager has *competence* in his native dialect, the ability to use all of its structural resources, but the actual *performance* of any speaker in any dialect always falls short of the totality implied by competence. No one can ever use all of the resources of a language, but one function of the English teacher is to activate the student's competence, that is, increase the range of his habitual performance.

Another insight from linguistic study is that differences among dialects in a given language are always confined to a limited range of *surface* features that have no effect on what linguists call *deep structure*, a term that might be roughly translated as "meaning." For instance, the following groups of sentences have minor surface differences, but obviously share meanings:

Herbert saw Hermione yesterday.
Herbert seen Hermione yesterday.
Mary's daddy is at home.
Mary's daddy is to home.
Mary daddy home.

Bill is going to the circus.
Bill, he's going to the circus.
Bill he going to the circus.

Preference for one form over another, then, is not based on meaning or even "exactness" of expression, but depends on social attitudes and cultural norms. The surface features are recognized as signs of social status.

VI. Does Dialect Affect the Ability to Read?

The linguistic concepts can bring a new understanding of the English teacher's function in dealing with reading and writing skills. Schools and colleges em-

phasize one form of language, the one we called Edited American English (EAE). It is the written language of the weekly newsmagazines, of almost all newspapers, and of most books. This variety of written English can be loosely termed a dialect, and it has pre-empted a great deal of attention in English classes.

If a speaker of any dialect of a language has competence (but not necessarily the ability to perform) in any other dialect of that language, then dialect itself cannot be posited as a reason for a student's failure to be able to read EAE. That is, dialect itself is not an impediment to reading, for the process of reading involves decoding to meaning (deep structure), not decoding to an utterance. Thus, the child who reads

> Phillip's mother is in Chicago.

out loud as

> Phillip mother in Chicago.

has read correctly, that is, has translated the surface of an EAE sentence into a meaning and has used his own dialect to give a surface form to that meaning. Reading, in short, involves the acquisition of meanings, not the ability to reproduce meanings in any given surface forms.

Reading difficulties may be a result of inadequate vocabulary, problems in perception, ignorance of contextual cues that aid in the reading process, lack of familiarity with stylistic ordering, interference from the emotional bias of the material, or combinations of these. In short, reading is so complicated a process that it provides temptations to people who want to offer easy explanations and solutions.

This larger view should make us cautious about the assumption that the students' dialect interferes with learning to read. Proceeding from such a premise, current "dialect" readers employ one of two methods. Some reading materials are written completely in the students' dialect with the understanding that later the students will be switched to materials written in the "standard" dialect. Other materials are written in companion sets of "Home" version and "School" version. Students first read through the "dialect" version, then through the *same* booklet written in "school" English. Both methods focus primarily on a limited set of surface linguistic features, as for example, the deletion of *-ed* in past tense verbs or the deletion of *-r* in final position.

To cope with our students' reading problem, then, we cannot confine ourselves to the constricting and ultimately ineffectual dialect readers designed for the "culturally deprived." We should structure and select materials geared to complex reading problems and oriented to the experience and sophistication of our students. An urban eight-year-old who has seen guns and knives in a street fight may not be much interested in reading how Jane's dog Spot dug in the neighbor's flower bed. Simply because "Johnny can't read" doesn't mean "Johnny is immature" or "Johnny can't think." He may be bored. Carefully chosen materials will certainly expose students to new horizons and should increase their awareness and heighten their perceptions of the social reality. Classroom reading materials can be employed to further our students' reading ability and, at the same time, can familiarize them with other varieties of English.

Admittedly, the kinds of materials we're advocating are, at present, difficult to find, but some publishers are beginning to move in this direction. In the meantime, we can use short, journalistic pieces, such as those found on the editorial pages of newspapers, we might rely on materials composed by our students, and we can certainly write our own materials. The important fact to remember is that speakers in any dialect

encounter essentially the same difficulties in reading, and thus we should not be so much interested in changing our students' dialect as in improving their command of the reading process.

VII. Does Dialect Affect the Ability to Write?

The ability to write EAE is quite another matter, for learning to write a given dialect, like learning to speak a dialect, involves the activation of areas of competence. Further, learning to write in any dialect entails the mastery of such conventions as spelling and punctuation, surface features of the written language. Again, native speakers of *any* dialect of a language have virtually total competence in all dialects of that language, but they may not have learned (and may never learn) to punctuate or spell, and, indeed, may not even learn the mechanical skill of forming letters and sequences of letters with a writing instrument. And even if they do, they may have other problems in transferring ease and fluency in speech to skill in writing.

Even casual observation indicates that dialect as such plays little if any part in determining whether a child will ultimately acquire the ability to write EAE. In fact, if speakers of a great variety of American dialects do master EAE—from Senator Sam Ervin to Senator Edward Kennedy, from Ernest Hemingway to William Faulkner—there is no reason to assume that dialects such as urban black and Chicano impede the child's ability to learn to write EAE while countless others do not. Since the issue is not the capacity of the dialect itself, the teacher can concentrate on building up the students' confidence in their ability to write.

If we name the essential functions of writing as expressing oneself, communicating information and attitudes, and discovering meaning through both logic and metaphor, then we view variety of dialects as an advantage. In self-expression, not only one's dialect but one's idiolect is basic. In communication one may choose roles which imply certain dialects, but the decision is a social one, for the dialect itself does not limit the information which can be carried, and the attitudes may be most clearly conveyed in the dialect the writer finds most congenial. Dialects are all equally serviceable in logic and metaphor.

Perhaps the most serious difficulty facing "non-standard" dialect speakers in developing writing ability derives from their exaggerated concern for the *least* serious aspects of writing. If we can convince our students that spelling, punctuation, and usage are less important than content, we have removed a major obstacle in their developing the ability to write. Examples of student writing are useful for illustrating this point. In every composition class there are examples of writing which is clear and vigorous despite the use of non-standard forms (at least as described by the handbook)—and there are certainly many examples of limp, vapid writing in "standard dialect." Comparing the writing allows the students to see for themselves that dialect seldom obscures clear, forceful writing. EAE is important for certain kinds of students, its features are easily identified and taught, and school patrons are often satisfied when it is mastered, but that should not tempt teachers to evade the still more important features of language.

When students want to play roles in dialects other than their own, they should be encouraged to experiment, but they can acquire the fundamental skills of writing in their own dialect. Their experiments are ways of becoming more versatile. We do not condone ill-organized, imprecise, undefined, inappropriate writing in any dialect; but we are especially distressed to find sloppy writing approved so long as it appears with finicky correctness in "school standard" while

vigorous and thoughtful statements in less prestigious dialects are condemned.

VIII. Does Dialect Limit the Ability to Think?

All languages are the product of the same instrument, namely, the human brain. It follows, then, that all languages and all dialects are essentially the same in their deep structure, regardless of how varied the surface structures might be. (This is equal to saying that the human brain is the human brain.) And if these hypotheses are true, then all controversies over dialect will take on a new dimension. The question will no longer turn on language *per se*, but will concern the nature of a society which places great value on given surface features of language and proscribes others, for any language or any dialect will serve any purpose that its users want it to serve.

There is no evidence, in fact, that enables us to describe any language or any dialect as incomplete or deficient apart from the conditions of its use. The limits of a particular speaker should not be interpreted as a limit of the dialect.

Just as people suppose that speakers who omit the plural inflection as in "six cow" instead of "six cows" cannot manipulate the concept of plurality, so also some believe that absence of tense markers as in "yesterday they *look* at the flood damage" indicates that the speaker has no concept of time. Yet these same people have no difficulty in understanding the difference between "now I *cut* the meat / yesterday I *cut* the meat," also without a tense marker. The alternative forms are adequate to express meaning.

And experience tells us that when speakers of any dialect need a new word for a new thing, they will invent or learn the needed word. Just as most Americans added "sputnik" to their vocabularies a decade or more ago, so speakers of other dialects can add such words as "periostitis" or "interosculate" whenever their interests demand it.

IX. What Is the Background for Teaching One "Grammar"?

Since the eighteenth century, English grammar has come to mean for most people the rules telling one how to speak and write in the best society. When social groups were clearly stratified into "haves" and "have-nots," there was no need for defensiveness about variations in language—the landlord could understand the speech of the stable boy, and neither of them worried about language differences. But when social and economic changes increased social mobility, the members of the "rising middle class," recently liberated from and therefore immediately threatened by the lower class, demanded books of rules telling them how to act in ways that would not betray their background and would solidly establish them in their newly acquired social group. Rules regulating social behavior were compiled in books of etiquette; rules regulating linguistic behavior were compiled in dictionaries and grammar books. Traditional grammar books were unapologetically designed to instill linguistic habits which, though often inconsistent with actual language practice and sometimes in violation of common sense, were intended to separate those who had "made it" from those who had not, the powerful from the poor.

Practices developed in England in the eighteenth century were transported wholesale to the New World. Linguistic snobbery was tacitly encouraged by a slavish reliance on rules "more honored in the breach than the observance," and these attitudes had consequences far beyond the realm of language. People from different language and ethnic backgrounds were denied social privileges, legal rights, and economic opportunity, and their inability to manipulate the

dialect used by the privileged group was used as an excuse for this denial. Many teachers, moved by the image of the "melting pot," conscientiously tried to eliminate every vestige of behavior not sanctioned in the grammar books, and the schools rejected as failures all those children who did not conform to the linguistic prejudices of the ruling middle class. With only slight modifications, many of our "rules," much of the "grammar" we still teach, reflects that history of social climbing and homogenizing.

X. What Do We Do about Handbooks?

Many handbooks still appeal to social-class etiquette and cultural stasis rather than to the dynamic and creative mechanisms which are a part of our language. They attempt to show one public dialect (EAE) which generates its own writing situations and its own restraints. By concentrating almost exclusively on EAE, such handbooks encourage a restrictive language bias. They thus ignore many situations which require other precise uses of language. We know that American English is pluralistic. We know that our students can and do function in a growing multiplicity of language situations which require different dialects, changing interconnections of dialects, and dynamic uses of language. But many handbooks often present only the usage of EAE for both written and spoken communication. Usage choices are presented as single-standard etiquette rules rather than as options for effective expression. This restrictive attitude toward usage is intensified by the way school grammar is presented as a series of directives in which word choice, syntax, surface features of grammar, and manuscript conventions are lumped together in guides of "correctness." These restrictive handbooks, by their very nature, encourage their users toward imitation, not toward generation of original written statements. By appealing to what is labeled "proper," they encourage an elitist attitude. The main values they transmit are stasis, restriction, manners, status, and imitation.

Teachers who are required to use such handbooks must help their students understand the implied restrictions of these texts. At best they are brief descriptions of the main features of EAE, and they clearly point out the limits of their own structures. Students should be encouraged to think of the handbook simply as a very limited language resource, and to recognize that its advice usually ignores the constraints of the situation. We alter our choices to create appropriate degrees of social intimacy. You don't talk to your kids as if they were a senate committee. A personal letter is not a technical report. Students use different forms of language in talking to their friends than they use in addressing their teachers; they use yet another style of language in communications with their parents or younger children; boys speak differently to boys when they are in the presence of girls than when the boys are alone, and so on—the list can be expanded indefinitely by altering the circumstances of time, place, and situation

The man who says, "He had a pain in his neck, the kind you get when you've suffered a bore too long," is creating an emotional bond with his hearers. Using the handbook rule, "avoid unnecessary shifts in person," to criticize the speaker's choice denies a very important language skill, a sense of how to adjust the tone to the situation.

Furthermore, students need to recognize the difference between handbook rules and actual performance. When, after a half hour's work on pronoun reference practice, carefully changing "everyone/their" to "everyone/his," the teacher says, "Everyone can hand in their papers now," students can recognize the limits of the rule. They can compare the handbook's insistence on "the reason that" with the practice of

the national newscaster who says, "the reason for the price increase is because . . . ." They can go on to consider what assumption underlies the claim that "he does" is always clearer than "he do."

By discussions of actual student writing both students and teachers can learn to appreciate the value of variant dialects and recognize that a deviation from the handbook rules seldom interferes with communication. The student who writes, "The Black Brother just don't believe he's going to be treated like a man anyway," is making himself completely clear. Students and teachers can go on to discuss situations in which adherence to handbook rules might actually damage the effectiveness of the writing. Through such discussions of tone, style, and situation, students and teachers can work together to develop a better understanding of the nature of language and a greater flexibility and versatility in the choices they make. The handbook in its clearly limited role can then be serviceable within the framework of a flexible rhetoric.

XI. How Can Students Be Offered Dialect Options?

Teachers need to sensitize their students to the options they already exercise, particularly in speaking, so as to help them gain confidence in communicating in a variety of situations. Classroom assignments should be structured to help students make shifts in tone, style, sentence structure and length, vocabulary, diction, and order; in short, to do what they are already doing, better. Since dialects are patterns of choice among linguistic options, assignments which require variety will also open issues of dialect.

Role playing in imaginary situations is one effective way of illustrating such options, especially if the situations are chosen to correspond with a reality familiar to the students. Materials that demonstrate the effective use of variant dialects are also useful. A novel like John O. Killens' COTILLION, for instance, combines an exciting, coherent narrative structure with a rich, versatile range of Black speech patterns used in various social situations, and thus can be used to show both literary and linguistic artistry.

Discussions must always emphasize the effectiveness of the various options, and must avoid the simplistic and the patronizing. Tapes, drills, and other instructional materials which do nothing more than contrast surface features (the lack of *-s* in third person singular present tense verbs, or *-ed* in past tense verbs, for instance) do not offer real options. Instead, because they are based on a "difference-equals-deficit" model, they imply that the students' own dialects are inferior and somehow "wrong" and that therefore the students' homes, the culture in which they learned their language, are also "wrong." Such simplistic approaches are not only destructive of the students' self-confidence, they fail to deal with larger and more significant options.

Linguistic versatility includes more than handbook conformity. Becoming aware of a variety of pitch patterns and rhythms in speech can reduce failures in understanding caused by unfamiliarity with the cadence another speaker uses. Listening for whole contexts can increase the ability to recognize the effect of such ponderous words as "notwithstanding" or "nevertheless" as well as pick up the meaning of unfamiliar names of things. Recognizing contradictions and failures in logic can help students concentrate on the "sense" of their communication rather than on its form. Identifying the ways language is used in politics and advertising can help students see when they are being manipulated and reduce their vulnerability to propaganda. Practice in exercising options can make students

realize that vividness, precision, and accuracy can be achieved in any dialect, and can help them see that sloppiness and imprecision are irresponsible choices in any dialect—that good speech and good writing ultimately have little to do with traditional notions of surface "correctness."

By building on what students are already doing well as part of their successes in daily living, we can offer them dialect options which will increase rather than diminish their self-esteem, and by focusing on the multiple aspects of the communication process, we can be sure we are dealing with the totality of language, not merely with the superficial features of "polite usage."

XII. What Do We Do about Standardized Tests?

Standardized tests depend on verbal fluency, both in reading the directions and in giving the answers, so even slight variations in dialect may penalize students by slowing them down. Not only are almost all standardized tests written in test jargon and focused on EAE, they also incorporate social, cultural, and racial biases which cannot hold for all students. Rural Americans may not know much about street life, and urban students will know little about the habits of cows. Words like "punk," "boody," or "joog," if they appeared in tests, would favor one dialect group over others. Tests which emphasize capitalization, punctuation, and "polite usage" favor one restrictive dialect. Even literature tests which emphasize the reading lists of the traditional anthologies favor one kind of school literature. Consequently, those students fluent in test jargon and familiar with the test subject matter are excessively rewarded.

Another problem of standardized tests is that they may further restrict the students' worlds and ultimately penalize both those who do well and those who "fail." Those who succeed may become so locked into the rewarding language patterns that they restrict their modes of expression and become less tolerant of others' modes. Those who do not succeed may be fluent in their own dialects but because they are unable to show their fluency, get a mistaken sense of inferiority from the scores they receive.

Some test makers have recognized these biases and are trying to correct them, but theories governing test construction and interpretation remain contradictory. At least four major theories begin with different images and assumptions about genetic and environmental forces or verbal fluency and differences. To some extent the theory of test construction controls test results. In a sense, what goes in also comes out and thus tests tend to be self-validating. Furthermore, test results are reported in terms of comparisons with the groups used for standardizing and thus unless the purpose in giving the test is properly related to the comparison group, the results will be meaningless. For instance, a test intended to measure verbal ability for purposes of predicting probable success in reading difficult textual material is improperly used if it is part of the hiring policy for electrical technicians or telephone repairmen, as is being done in one major American city.

Ideally, until standardized tests fair to all students from all backgrounds can be developed, they should not be used for admitting, placing, or labeling students. Since they are built into the system, however, those who use and interpret the test results must recognize the biases built into the tests and be aware of the theory and purpose behind the tests. Used carelessly, standardized tests lead to erroneous inferences as to students' linguistic abilities and create prejudgments in the minds of teachers, counselors, future employers, and the students themselves.

Resolutions of the Annual Meetings of NCTE in 1970 and 1971 challenged the present forms and uses of standardized tests. Because our schools and colleges continue to administer them, we must continue to deal with the effects of such testing on students and curricula. In response to the problem, we can employ caution in using and trusting test results, and seek positive ways to neutralize the negative effects. We should develop and employ alternative methods for the measurement of our students' performance. Various types of written and oral performance-in-situation testing can be done in the classroom. Various forms of in-class study of dialect can lead students to understand what is common to all dialects and what is particular to individual dialects, and can determine, through discussion, which alternatives most effectively represent the intentions of the speaker or writer.

Tests should not be focused on whether students can think, speak or write in the institutional dialect, but on whether they can think, speak, and write in their own dialects. If it is also necessary to know whether students have mastered the forms of EAE, that should be tested separately.

XIII. What Are the Implications of This Resolution for Students' Work in Courses Other Than English?

Teachers from other fields who view English as a service course, one which will save them the labor of teaching writing, often implicitly define writing as the communication of information within a limited social context. Perhaps when they (and some English teachers) fuss about spelling and usage, they are merely avoiding difficult problems of writing or, at least, avoiding talking about them. Sometimes, what they see as incompetence in writing is merely a reflection that the student doesn't understand the materials of the history or sociology course. But often they see the student's skill only in terms of limited needs. Whatever the reason for the complaint, courses which limit themselves to a narrow view of language in hopes of pleasing other departments will not offer a view of dialect adequate to encourage students to grow more competent to handle a fuller range of the language, and thus will defeat their own purpose.

What is needed in the English classroom and in all departments is a better understanding of the nature of dialect and a shift in attitudes toward it. The English teacher can involve the entire teaching staff in examining sample essays and tests from the various departments to determine whether a student's dialect in an essay examination from Mr. Jones in Geography *really* obscures clarity, whether Mary Smith's theme for Mr. Rogers is *really* worthless because of the "she don'ts" and because "receive" is spelled with an "ie." Such activities would help everyone in defining the areas which are vitally important to us.

We can also provide help for students who find themselves in courses whose teachers remain unreasonably restrictive in matters of dialect. In business and industry secretaries and technical writers rescue the executive and engineer. Science professors have been known to hire English teachers to rewrite their articles for publication. Even a popular technical magazine, such as *QST*, the journal for ham radio operators, offers services which will "standardize" a variant dialect:

> Have you a project which would make a good *QST* story? We have a technical editing staff who can *pretty* up the words, should they need it—*ideas are more important for QST articles than a finished writing job.* (Italics added) (*QST*, April, 1971, p. 78)

We must encourage students to con-

centrate on crucial exactness of content, and we must persuade our colleagues to forget their own biases about dialect long enough to recognize and respect this better kind of exactness. Students—all of us—need to respect our writing enough to take care with it. Self-expression and discovery as much as communication demand care in finding the exact word and phrase, but that exactness can be found in any dialect, and the cosmetic features of polite discourse can be supplied, when needed for social reasons.

XIV. How Does Dialect Affect Employability?

English teachers should be concerned with the employability as well as the linguistic performance of their students. Students rightly want marketable skills that will facilitate their entry into the world of work. Unfortunately, many employers have narrowly conceived notions of the relationship between linguistic performance and job competence. Many employers expect a person whom they consider for employment to speak whatever variety of American English the employers speak, or believe they speak. Consequently, many speakers of divergent dialects are denied opportunities that are readily available to other applicants whose dialects more nearly approximate the speech of the employer. But a plumber who can sweat a joint can be forgiven confusion between "set" and "sat." In the same way, it is more important that a computer programmer be fluent in Fortran than in EAE. Many jobs that are normally desirable—that are viewed as ways of entering the American middle class—are undoubtedly closed to some speakers of some non-standard dialects, while some of the same jobs are seldom closed to white speakers of non-standard dialects.

Spoken dialect makes little difference in the performance of many jobs, and the failure of employers to hire blacks, Chicanos, or other ethnic minorities is often simply racial or cultural prejudice. One of the exceptions is the broadcast industry, where most stations at least used to require that almost all newscasters and announcers speak "network standard," but ethnic stations that broadcast "soul" (black), or country, or western, or Chicano programs tend to require the appropriate dialect. A related social bias is implied by certain large companies which advertise for receptionists who speak BBC (British Broadcasting Company) dialect, even though British English is a minority dialect when it is spoken in this country. For them prestige requires the assumption that Americans are still colonials.

The situation concerning spoken dialect and employability is in a state of change; many speakers of minority dialects are now finding opportunities that five or ten years ago would have been closed to them. Specific data is understandably difficult to find, yet it would seem that certain dialects have a considerable effect on employability. Since English teachers have been in large part responsible for the narrow attitudes of today's employers, changing attitudes toward dialect variations does not seem an unreasonable goal, for today's students will be tomorrow's employers. The attitudes that they develop in the English class will often be the criteria they use for choosing their own employees. English teachers who feel they are bound to accommodate the linguistic prejudices of current employers perpetuate a system that is unfair to both students who have job skills and to the employers who need them.

Teachers should stress the difference between the spoken forms of American English and EAE because a clear understanding will enable both teachers and students to focus their attention on essential items. EAE allows much less variety than the spoken forms, and de-

parture from what are considered established norms is less tolerated. The speaker of a minority dialect still will write EAE in formal situations. An employer may have a southern drawl and pronounce "think" like "thank," but he will write *think*. He may say "y'all" and be considered charming for his quaint southernisms, but he will write *you*. He may even in a "down home" moment ask, "Now how come th' mail orda d'partment d'nt orda fo' cases steada five?" But he'll write the question in EAE. Therefore it is necessary that we inform those students who are preparing themselves for occupations that demand formal writing that they will be expected to write EAE. But it is one thing to help a student achieve proficiency in a written dialect and another thing to punish him for using variant expressions of that dialect.

Students who want to write EAE will have to learn the forms identified with that dialect as additional options to the forms they already control. We should begin our work in composition with them by making them feel confident that their writing, in whatever dialect, makes sense and is important to us, that we read it and are interested in the ideas and person that the writing reveals. Then students will be in a much stronger position to consider the rhetorical choices that lead to statements written in EAE.

XV. What Sort of Knowledge about Language Do English Teachers Need?

All English teachers should, as a minimum, know the principles of modern linguistics, and something about the history and nature of the English language in its social and cultural context. This knowledge can be acquired through reading, through course work, through experience, or through a combination of these. All teachers should know something about:

A. *The Nature of Language as an Oral, Symbolic System by which Human Beings Interact and Communicate:* If teachers understand that the spoken language is always primary and the written language is a separate and secondary or derived system, they will be able to recognize that students inexperienced in the written system may still have great competence and facility in the spoken language. Because both systems are arbitrary, there is no necessary connection between the words of a language and the things those words symbolize (leche, lait, milk, etc.) nor is there any necessary connection between the sounds of the word "milk" and the alphabetic symbols we use to represent those sounds. Once a teacher understands the arbitrary nature of the oral and written forms, the pronunciation or spelling of a word becomes less important than whether it communicates what the student wants to say. In speech, *PO*lice communicates as well as po*LICE*, and in writing "pollice" is no insurmountable barrier to communication, although all three variations might momentarily distract a person unfamiliar with the variant.

B. *The History of English and How it Continually Changes in Vocabulary, in Syntax, and in Pronunciation:* Teachers should understand that although changes in syntax and pronunciation occur more slowly than lexical changes, they do take place. The language of the King James Bible shows considerable syntactic variation from modern English, and linguists have demonstrated that speakers even as recent as the eighteenth century might be nearly unintelligible to modern ears. Vocabulary changes are easier for both teachers and students to observe. As we develop new things, we add words to talk about them—jet, sputnik, television, smog. From its earliest history, English has borrowed words from the other lan-

guages with which it has come in contact —French, Latin, Spanish, Scandinavian, Yiddish, American Indian—from sources too numerous to list. Because many of these borrowings are historical, teachers recognize and respect them as essential parts of the language. Teachers should be equally as willing to recognize that English can also increase the richness of its word stock by a free exchange among its dialects. If teachers had succeeded in preventing students from using such terms as "jazz," "lariat," and "kosher," modern English would be the poorer. Such borrowings enlarge and enrich the language rather than diminish it.

C. *The Nature of Dialects:* A dialect shares similarities of pronunciation, syntax, or vocabulary that differentiates it from other dialects. These similarities within a dialect and differences between dialects are the product of geographical, social, cultural, or economic isolation. Our perception of the difference between an acceptable and unacceptable dialect depends on the power and prestige of the people who speak it. We tend to respect and admire the dialect of people who are wealthy or powerful. The planter's daughter who asks in a pronounced drawl to be "carried" home from the dance is charming; the field hand who says "That's shonuff a purty dress" becomes an object of amusement or scorn. The teacher who realizes that the difference is not in the superiority of either dialect, but in the connotation we supply, can avoid judging students' dialects in social or economic terms.

D. *Language Acquisition:* Although little hard evidence is available about how an individual acquires language, it is known that in learning a language, we must filter out those sounds that have no significance in that language and use only those that do; then we learn to put those sounds into structures that are meaningful in the language. Babies experiment with a multitude of possible sounds, but by the time they begin to talk they have discarded sound combinations that don't appear in the dialects they hear. If, later on, they learn a second language, they encounter problems in hearing and producing sounds and sound combinations that do not exist in their first language. For instance, native speakers of English who learn Spanish as adults have trouble distinguishing "pero" and "perro" because the double "r" sound does not appear in any dialect of English. Although, phonemic differences between dialects of English are not as great as differences between English and a foreign language, differences do exist and it is unreasonable for teachers to insist that students make phonemic shifts which we as adults have difficulty in making.

E. *Phonology:* Phonology deals with the sound system of a language and the variations within that system. Teachers who understand phonology will not try to impose their own sound systems upon their students. They will not make an issue of whether the student says /hwayt hwel/ or /wayt weyl/ (white whale), nor will they be disturbed by shair-chair, warsh-wash, dat-that. They will not "correct" a student who says "merry" like "Murray" because they themselves may say "hairy" so that it is indistinguishable from "Harry." They will realize that even though a student says "ten" and "tin" exactly alike, nobody will be confused because context makes the meaning clear.

F. *Morphology:* Morphology deals with the elements of grammatic meaning in a language—tense, aspect, person, number —and the devices the language employs for indicating them. Just as context prevents homophones from confusing the listener, so context prevents morphologi-

cal variations from becoming an obstacle to communication. The variations between foot and feet in "6 foot tall," "6 feet tall," or between "Mary" and "Mary's" in such phrases as "Mary hat" and "Mary's hat" make no difference in our ability to grasp the meaning. Teachers who recognize that morphological forms vary from dialect to dialect, but that within each dialect the morphology follows a system, will be less likely to challenge a student whose morphology is different on the ground that such variations represent "mistakes."

G. *Syntax:* Syntax refers to the arrangement of words within an utterance. Syntactic patterns are not the same in all languages (in English, the *red* dress; in the Chicano dialect of Spanish, el vestido *colorado*), nor are the syntactic patterns always the same in different dialects of the same language. The syntactic patterns, however, are systematic within each dialect, and seldom interfere with communication between speakers of different dialects within a language. "That girl she pretty" is just as understandable as "That girl is pretty" and "Don't nobody but God know that" is not only just as clear as "Only God knows," but in some circumstances its meaning is more emphatic.

H. *Grammar and Usage:* Teachers often think grammar is a matter of choosing between lie and lay, who and whom, everybody/his and everybody/their. Actually these are usage choices, in the same way as deciding whether to say "I done my work" or "I did my work" is a usage choice. Grammar, on the other hand, is a description of the system by which a language conveys meaning beyond the sum of the meanings of the individual words. It includes phonology, morphology, and syntax. The grammar of one American dialect may require "he is" in the third person singular present tense; the grammar of another dialect may require "he be" in that slot. The confusion between usage and grammar grows out of the prescriptive attitude taken by most school handbooks since the 18th Century. Modern linguists see grammar not as prescriptive but as descriptive, and teachers who approach the study of grammar as a fascinating analysis of an intensely important human activity, rather than as a series of do's and don'ts, can often rid their students of the fear and guilt that accompanied their earlier experiences with "grammar." Perhaps such teachers can even help their students to find the study of grammar fun.

I. *Semantics:* Teachers should know that semantics is the study of how people give meaning to words and the way many of those meanings affect us emotionally rather than rationally. Teachers well grounded in modern semantics can help their students examine their word choices, not from the standpoint of right or wrong, proper or improper, but by analyzing the impact possible choices will have on listeners or readers. In some areas, for instance, some listeners will be turned off by the word "belly," whereas other listeners will find "stomach" affected and feel more comfortable with "gut." Students can be led to see why many newspaper readers could support a "protective reaction strike" but would have been upset by a "bombing attack."

J. *Lexicography:* Knowing that many words have strong connotative meanings will help teachers regard dictionaries not as authorities but as guides. Knowing that words are only arbitrary symbols for the things they refer to, teachers will realize that dictionaries cannot supply the "real" meaning of any word. Knowing that language changes, they will realize that expressions labeled "non-standard" or "colloquial" by the dictionaries of fifty

years ago may be listed without pejorative labels in an up-to-date dictionary. Knowing that pronunciations vary, they will use the pronunciation information in a dictionary as a starting point for class discussion on how most people in the students' own area pronounce that word. In short, teachers will help their students to realize that dictionaries describe practice rather than legislate performance. Dictionaries cannot give rules for using the words of a language; they can only give information about how words have been used.

K. *Experience:* Teachers need to ratify their book knowledge of language by living as minority speakers. They should be wholly immersed in a dialect group other than their own. Although such an opportunity may be difficult for some to obtain, less definitive experience may be obtained by listening to tapes and records as well as interviewing sympathetically speakers who use minority dialects. Empathy with the difficulties often faced by such speakers can be appreciated in indirect analogies with other situations which make one an outsider. But the most vivid sense of the students' problem is likely to come from direct experience.

L. *The Role of Change:* The history of language indicates that change is one of its constant conditions and, furthermore, that attempts at regulation and the slowing of change have been unsuccessful. Academies established to regulate language by scholarly authority have little effect on the dynamic processes of language. Moreover, there is little evidence that languages "evolve" in the sense that they become more expressive or more regular; that is, they simply change, but they do not, it seems, become better or worse. Dialect is merely a symptom of change. Paradoxically, past change is considered normal, but current change is viewed by some as degradation. From Chaucer to Shakespeare to Faulkner, the language assuredly changed, and yet no one speaks of the primitive language of Chaucer or the impoverished language of Shakespeare. Few complain that French and Spanish developed from camp-Latin. Literary scholars might dispute endlessly over the absolute merits of neo-classical versus romantic poetry, but no one would argue that literature would be richer if one or the other did not exist. In fact, there are positive esthetic reasons for arguing in favor of diversity. Such is the case with dialects; just as variety in modes of poetic perception enriches literature, so variety in dialects enriches the language for those who are not unreasonably biased in favor of one dialect. Diversity of dialects will not degrade language nor hasten deleterious changes. Common sense tells us that if people want to understand one another, they will do so. Experience tells us that we can understand any dialect of English after a reasonably brief exposure to it. And humanity tells us that we should allow every man the dignity of his own way of talking.

Committee on CCCC Language Statement

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography of 129 entries is keyed to the statements made in the fifteen sections of STUDENTS' RIGHT TO THEIR OWN LANGUAGE. It is, therefore, sociolinguistic in intent; that is, language as a vehicle of socio-cultural interaction is its concern. It is designed for the classroom teacher who deals with the uses of language variety and who teaches oral and written composing processes. Pedagogical treatments are balanced against theoretical statements so that immediate needs can be answered from two points of departure and so that further study may be undertaken as desired.

Because it is designed to appeal to a varied audience of teachers with differing interests and preparation, elementary, intermediate, and advanced considerations of the socio-linguistic problems surveyed in the statement itself are included. Items reflect problems spanning child-adult socio-linguistic concerns and the elementary-college educational spectrum. Annotations attempt to identify items for simplicity or complexity and for practical or theoretical concerns.

Though items reflect primarily those sociolinguistic concerns of the 1960's and 1970's, some earlier publications have been included to provide background and/or situational context for understanding the present controversy. Wherever decisions, directions, and concerns of pedagogy and research have not yet been resolved, variant perspectives have been included. Many essay collections have been included (1) to demonstrate the multiplicity of views available and (2) to provide easy access to source materials. Many entries are themselves distinguished by further-study bibliographies. Items known to exist unrevised in several sources are cross-referenced. Necessarily, the bibliography reflects those areas of sociolinguistic research and pedagogy in which the greatest amount of work has been conducted and published.

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Labov, William. THE SOCIAL STRATIFICATION OF ENGLISH IN NEW YORK CITY. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1966. This in-depth analysis of one multi-level speech community outlines the continuous social and stylistic variation of language influenced by socio-economic stratification and the transmission of prestige patterns. The nature of social control of language variety is considered.

Lieberson, Stanley, ed. EXPLORATIONS IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS. The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1967. This collection of thirteen articles represents several views of the purposes of language/dialect. Through discussions of elaborated and restricted codes, social stratification and cognitive orientations, social status and attitude, and uniformation, the collection exposes those components which contribute to prestige or nonprestige forms.

McDavid, Raven I., Jr. "Dialect Differences and Social Differences in an Urban Society," in Bright, William, ed. SOCIOLINGUISTICS. The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1971. This article discusses the class markers by which speakers are tagged by their listeners and the resulting prestige or lack of it which is attributed to the speakers and their linguistic utterances.

V. How Can Concepts from Modern Linguistics Help Clarify the Question of Dialects?

Lenneberg, Eric H. BIOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS OF LANGUAGE. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967. Language as an aspect of the biological nature of human beings is studied. See especially Chapter Four for a discussion of language acquisition in the context of growth and maturation.

Lenneberg, Eric H., ed. NEW DIRECTIONS IN THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE. Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1967. Eight contributors investigate language acquisition problems from the viewpoints of maturation, social anthropology, human biology, and psychology.

Lenneberg, Eric H. "On Explaining Language," SCIENCE, 164: 3880 (May, 1969), 635-643. Also in Gunderson (1970). The argument that "the development of language in children can best be understood in the context of developmental biology" is introduced. Major problems in language acquisition are pinpointed.

Troike, Rudolph C. "Receptive Competence, Productive Competence, and Performance," in Alatis, James, ed. LINGUISTICS AND THE TEACHING OF STANDARD ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF OTHER LANGUAGES OR DIALECTS. Monograph Series on Languages and Linguistics. No. 22. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1969. This discussion of receptive competence and its importance in developing productive competence encourages greater concern for such components in the development of materials and methods for second-dialect teaching.

VI. Does Dialect Affect the Ability To Read?

Baratz, Joan C., and Roger W. Shuy, eds. TEACHING BLACK CHILDREN TO READ. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969. This collection of eight articles by reading specialists and dialectologists suggests that the "problem" in the learning-to-read process is generally attributable to the teacher, not the student. Discussion of reading difficulties is illustrated through problems of speakers of Black English. Especially recommended is William Labov's article. His discussion is applicable to reading classrooms at all levels.

Gunderson, Doris V., ed. LANGUAGE & READING. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1970. A survey of reading and language theories, reading research concerns, reading disability problems, and current instructional practices is developed through the statements of seventeen contributors.

Kavanagh, James F., and Ignatius G. Mattingly, eds. LANGUAGE BY EAR AND EYE. Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1972. An overview of current knowledge of similarities and differences in the processing of language by ear and by eye is developed through twenty-two contributor statements. Language vehicles (speech and writing), speech perception and reading, and learning problems are considered.

VII. Does Dialect Affect the Ability to Write?

Braddock, Richard, Richard Lloyd-Jones, and Lowell Schoer. RESEARCH IN WRITTEN COMPOSITION. Champaign: NCTE, 1963. This survey considers the present state of knowledge about composition and outlines the case-study method of analysis. Part III emphasizes the factors influencing composition and measurement.

Emig, Janet. THE COMPOSING PROCESSES OF TWELFTH GRADERS. Research Report No. 13. Urbana: NCTE, 1971. This report investigates the *writing process* and attempts "to identify the student's feelings, attitudes, and self-concepts which form the invisible components of the 'composition' which the teacher sees as a product." Especially valuable are Chapter 1 which reviews the literature and Chapter 3 which outlines the mode of analysis.

Friedrich, Richard, and David Kuester. IT'S MINE AND I'LL WRITE IT THAT WAY. New York: Random House, 1972. This freshman composition text combines an understanding of the nature of language with a demonstration that almost all students, when they write naturally about things meaningful to them, can learn to write well.

Harrison, Myrna. ON OUR OWN TERMS. Encino: Dickenson, 1972. In this collection of forceful, effective student writing, many of the selections illustrate that having something to say, and saying it well, is not affected by dialect or spelling.

Macrorie, Ken. UPTAUGHT. New York: Hayden Press, 1970. This discussion considers how conventional English classes have failed and offers some suggestions for a writing approach that emphasizes respect for students and the honesty of their expression.

Smitherman, Geneva. "God Don't Never Change: Black English from a Black Perspective," COLLEGE ENGLISH, 34 (March, 1973), 828-834. This article argues for the uniqueness of Black expression which lies in the situational context from which the style of the Black Idiom develops. The argument is placed in historical context.

Wolfram, Walt, and Marcia Whiteman. "The Role of Dialect Interference in Composition," FLORIDA FL REPORTER, 9 (Spring/Fall, 1971), 34-38. Interference problems which arise in written composition due to dialectal differences in grammatical and pronunciation features are discussed and manifestations of hypercorrection illustrated. Black English is used for illustration.

VIII. Does Dialect Limit the Ability to Think?

Cohen, Rosalie A. "Conceptual Styles, Culture Conflict, and Nonverbal Tests of Intelligence," AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, 71 (October, 1969), 828-856. Conceptual styles (rule sets and constraints) which can be identified through linguistic and attitudinal behavior are investigated. It is argued that one must identify the conceptual style in order to understand interference problems. It is shown that such styles affect responses to standardized testing.

Labov, William. "Statement and Resolution on Language and Intelligence," LSA BULLETIN, 52 (March, 1972), 19-22. "On the Resolution on Language and Intelligence," LSA BULLETIN, 53 (June, 1972), 14-16. "More on the Resolution on Language and Intelligence," LSA BULLETIN, 54 (October, 1972), 24-26. These three statements reflect the most recent stances taken by socio-linguists on the "heritability of intelligence theory." They advance the argument that linguistic variables and language varieties are not being taken into consideration in attempts to measure intelligence and cognitive ability.

Quay, Lorene C. "Language Dialect, Reinforcement, and the Intelligence-test Performance of Negro Children," CHILD DEVELOPMENT, 42 (March, 1971), 5-15. The influence of motivation (with reinforcement) and communication (Standard English/Black English dialects) on responses and scores is evaluated. It is argued that the deficit/difference theories are based on speech production, not language comprehension.

Scarr-Salapatek, Sandra. "Race, Social Class, and IQ," SCIENCE, 174: 4016 (December, 1971), 1285-1295. This discussion-definition outlines the environmental disadvantages hypothesis and the genetic differences hypothesis, demonstrating their interactions, and presenting their implications for the determination of IQ.

Williams, Frederick, ed. LANGUAGE AND POVERTY: PERSPECTIVES ON A THEME. Chicago: Markham Publishing Co., 1972. The linguistic deficit-difference controversy is surveyed through eighteen overview and position papers which attempt to explain the interrelationships or language, linguistic variety, and poverty settings.

IX. What Is the Background for Teaching One "Grammar"?

Crowell, Michael G. "American Traditions of Language Use: Their Relevance Today," ENGLISH JOURNAL, 59 (January, 1970), 109-115. Nineteenth and twentieth century usage attitudes are considered as they relate to (1) growth and creativity in language and (2) maintenance of the *status quo* and as these attitudes have been affected by the prescriptive-descriptive discussions of usage. Crowell stresses that the maintenance of creativity and *status quo* attitudes encourages a healthy tension in our thinking and discussions of language.

James, Carl. "Applied Institutional Linguistics in the Classroom," ENGLISH JOURNAL, 59 (November, 1970), 1096-1105. It is suggested that the classroom study of English be focused on "distinctive features." This format considers language variety through those permanent (dialectal) and transient (diatypic) features by which we identify types of speakers and writers along a usage spectrum.

Kerr, Elizabeth M., and Ralph M. Aderman, eds. ASPECTS OF AMERICAN ENGLISH. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963. Thirty statements are arranged to allow the reader to consider the developing and changing attitudes toward principles and sociolinguistic aspects of language. Historical, regional, social, and literary aspects are considered.

Laird, Charlton, and Robert M. Gorrell, eds. ENGLISH AS LANGUAGE: BACKGROUNDS, DEVELOPMENT, USAGE. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961. A collection of sixty statements is arranged to demonstrate changing attitudes over several centuries toward language, dialect, grammar, dictionaries, and usage.

Lederman, Marie Jean. "Hip Language and Urban College English," COLLEGE COMPOSITION AND COMMUNICATION, 20 (October, 1969), 204-214. The value of employing, investigating, and defining "hip" language in the classroom is considered and seen as a "matter of human rights" to discuss varieties of language. All views are backed by classroom teaching illustrations.

Roberts, Paul. ENGLISH SENTENCES. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962. Chapters 1 and 2 make a clear distinction between a nongrammatical English sentence (Henry some flowers his mother brought) and a grammatical English sentence (Henry brung his mother some flowers) and discusses the social implications of dialect differences.

Wilkinson, Andrew, ed. THE CONTEXT OF LANGUAGE. (Volume 23 of EDUCATIONAL REVIEW). Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 1971. Five articles concentrate on considering language in its situational context. Language is seen as a matter of options.

Wilkinson, Andres, ed. THE STATE OF LANGUAGE. (Volume 23 of EDUCATIONAL REVIEW). Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 1969. Nine contributor statements present recent views on the state of grammar, language models and coding, kinds and registers of English, and reading acquisition.

X. What Do We Do about Handbooks?

Burling, Robbins. "Standard Colloquial and Standard Written English: Some Implications for Teaching Literacy to Nonstandard Speakers," FLORIDA FL REPORTER, 8 (Spring/Fall, 1970), 9-15, 47. An investigation of differences between written and spoken varieties of English and of some of the ways in which they interact is balanced against the cautionary advice that teacher attitudes toward, and knowledge of, nonstandard habit patterns is the real factor in teaching literacy. Problems in teaching language usage are clarified.

Funkhouser, James L. "A Various Standard," COLLEGE ENGLISH, 34 (March, 1973), 806-827. A discussion of how nonsituational handbook rules may be superseded in the classroom by situational rules for effective communication in writing is presented. Rule consistency is illustrated through Black English writing samples.

Hall, Richard. "A Muddle of Models: The Radicalizing of American English," ENGLISH JOURNAL, 61 (May, 1972), 705-710. The proliferation of models by which to determine one's usage is considered. Such pluralism forces the teacher to consider language options, to teach about the shifts in language values which are occurring, and to aim for greater student consciousness in the making of decisions about usage.

Hartung, Charles V. "Doctrines of English Usage," ENGLISH JOURNAL, 45 (December, 1956), 517-525. Also in Laird and Gorrell (1961). The four main "propriety of language usage" doctrines (of rules, of general usage, of appropriateness, of linguistic norm) which have influenced our thought are discussed. Hartung concludes that the doctrine of the linguistic norm with its concern for "maximum expression" would seem suitable for the classroom.

Joos, Martin. THE FIVE CLOCKS. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1967. This discussion of the five styles of spoken and written English encourages a tolerant view of varying linguistic habit patterns by illustrating the complexities of usage.

Lloyd, Donald. "Structure in Language," COLLEGE ENGLISH, 24 (May, 1963), 598-602. In discussing the "social structuring of usage," Lloyd reiterates that all speakers adjust language to fit specific social situations by responding to situational cues.

Sledd, James. "On Not Teaching English Usage," ENGLISH JOURNAL, 54 (November, 1965), 698-703. This argument against teaching English usage presents new views of language use which help to develop broader definitions of usage based on responsible judgment.

XI. How Can Students Be Offered Dialect Options?

Baratz, Joan C. "Should Black Children Learn White Dialect?" ASHA, 12 (September, 1970), 415-417. Also in Smith (1972). It is argued that "standard English" is not "white dialect" but the *lingua franca* of the "American mainstream" culture to which the Black student has a right. A definition is attempted.

Burling, Robbins, ENGLISH IN BLACK AND WHITE. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973. This systematic explanation of major facts of nonstandard English dialects is designed for teachers and nonspecialists. Each chapter answers a practical question such as "What is the problem?" or "How is it used?" and offers study-discussion topics of use in the classroom.

Cassidy, Frederick. "American Regionalisms in the Classroom," ENGLISH JOURNAL, 57 (March, 1968), 375-379. This article is a discussion of the regional variations existent in Standard English and a description of available dialect resources for classroom exploration of the language varieties which the student and the community use.

Davis, A. L., ed. CULTURE, CLASS, AND LANGUAGE VARIETY. Urbana: NCTE, 1972. Ten articles are offered as a resource-reference for teachers who must plan classroom activities in such areas as grammar, syntax, nonverbal communication. Included are transcriptions of children's speech (a tape cartridge of that speech accompanies the text).

Evertts, Eldonna L., ed. DIMENSIONS OF DIALECT. Champaign: NCTE, 1967. Various aspects of dialect-oriented problems are considered by fourteen linguists and teachers. Dialect features and their implications for the classroom are discussed. Raven McDavid's article contains a checklist of nonstandard dialect features.

Fasold, Ralph W., and Roger W. Shuy, eds. TEACHING STANDARD ENGLISH IN THE INNER CITY. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1970. The biloquialist perspective is presented in this collection of six articles by educators attempting to deal with the problems of inner city teaching.

Holt, Grace Sims. "Changing Frames of Reference in Speech Communication Education for Black Students," FLORIDA FL REPORTER, 9 (Spring/Fall, 1971), 21-22, 52. An argument for the role *affect* has in Black communication and its importance in linguistic-cultural patterns is presented. Classroom activities for the study of affect are provided.

Imhoof, Maurice L., ed. "Social and Educational Insights into Teaching Standard English to Speakers of Other Dialects." VIEWPOINTS. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971. This overview considers system and order in varietal differences, effects of cultural attitudes toward given varieties, teacher attitudes, design and system of learning activities, competencies needed by ghetto teachers.

Jacobson, Rodolpho, ed. STUDIES IN ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF OTHER LANGUAGES & STANDARD ENGLISH TO SPEAKERS OF A NON-STANDARD DIALECT. Monograph No. 14, New York State English Council, 1971. This collection of twenty-four articles argues against the melting-pot theory and for the linguistic-cultural pluralism theory. Many viewpoints are represented as contributors approach the problem through discussion of attitudes toward language varieties, bidialectalism, bilingualism, the "Pygmalion effect," and testing.

Kochman, Thomas. "Culture and Communication: Implications for Black English in the Classroom," FLORIDA FL REPORTER, 7 (Spring/Summer, 1969), 89-92, 172-74. Communication channels, mechanisms, and networks, audience dynamics, goals and assumptions for language programs, and speech styles are discussed.

Labov, William. THE STUDY OF NONSTANDARD ENGLISH. Champaign: NCTE, 1970. This statement surveys the theoretical and educational issues surrounding the controversy over nonstandard English. Nonstandard English is considered within the context of the nature of language, sociolinguistic principles, educational implications, and needed in-school research. Space is given to informal and formal approaches to testing for varieties of language in order to determine presence of differences, perceptual competence in varieties, grammatical competence, and speech competence.

Shuy, Roger. DISCOVERING AMERICAN DIALECTS. Champaign: NCTE, 1967. This simplified introduction to dialects discusses regional and social varieties of American dialects, how and why they differ, foreign language influence, and literary dialects.

Shuy, Roger, ed. SOCIAL DIALECTS AND LANGUAGE LEARNING. Champaign: NCTE, 1964. Twenty statements by linguists and educators provide an overview of social dialectology, field projects, teaching programs, social factors affecting learning of Standard English and behaviorists reactions, and research implications. Many viewpoints—sometimes conflicting—are offered on such problems as acquisition of Standard English, usage problems and attitudes, dialect and multi-dialect behavior, and programs for the English classroom.

Smitherman, Geneva. "English Teacher, Why You Be Doing the Thangs You Don't Do?" ENGLISH JOURNAL, 61 (January, 1972). This article, written in the Black, suggests teaching technologies for inner-city English classrooms.

Wolfram, Walt. "Sociolinguistic Premises and the Nature of Non-standard Dialects," SPEECH TEACHER, 19 (September, 1970), 177-184. Also in Smith (1972). This article is a discussion of sociolinguistic considerations which affect teacher evaluation of speech behavior and teacher attitudes toward nonstandard speech behavior. Verbal options as arbitrary and established by custom, dialect adequacy as a communicative system, language as learned in community context are considered.

XII. What Do We Do about Standardized Tests?

Barth, Carl A. "Kinds of Language Knowledge Required by College Entrance Examinations," ENGLISH JOURNAL, 54 (December, 1965), 824-829. Knowledge of traditional grammar is found not necessary for success on such standardized national tests as the SAT, ACT, College Board Achievement Test. Knowledge of usage and linguistic sensitivity gained through modern language teaching are adequate preparation.

Derrick, Clarence. "Tests of Writing," ENGLISH JOURNAL, 53 (October, 1964), 496-99. This article criticizes the efficiency and reliability of national essay and objective "writing" tests designed for group testing. The essay tests are dismissed as unreliable; the objective tests are consigned to having reliability in producing information about skills related to writing. Derrick feels the answer to the problem lies in careful classroom testing and evaluating of writing samples.

Goslin, David A. "What's Wrong With Tests and Testing," COLLEGE BOARD REVIEW, Nos. 65/66 (Fall/Winter, 1967), 12-18, 33-37. These statements discuss the types and uses of tests, influences which scores exert, criticisms of validity, concern for their self-fulfilling prophecy, and the implications for group social structure, membership selection, and society.

Hackett, Herbert. "Three Against Testing," COLLEGE COMPOSITION AND COMMUNICATION, 15 (October, 1964), 158-163. This article reviews *The Brain Watchers*, *They Shall Not Pass*, and *The Tyranny of Testing* and finds their authors guilty of the same

pretentiousness and carelessness which the authors found in the designers and users of standardized tests. The charges are specific and illustrate those authors' misconceptions by focusing on what such tests can and cannot do. It points out that validity, not reliability, is the problem area in standardized testing.

Osenburg, F. C. "Objective Testing, the New Phrenology," COLLEGE COMPOSITION AND COMMUNICATION, 12 (May, 1961), 106-111. This review of measurement problems inherent in vocabulary, multiple-choice reading, and English battery tests also touches on some of the ways in which students "learn" to answer test questions without really understanding what they're doing with language.

Schroth, Evelyn. "Some Usage Forms Die Hard—Thanks to College Entrance Exams," ENGLISH JOURNAL, 56 (January, 1967), 97-102. This article argues that College Board tests still test as substandard certain usage items which authorities on usage consider to have been accepted within the boundaries of current acceptable usage.

XIII. What Are the Implications of This Resolution for Students' Work in Courses Other Than English?

Budd, Richard W., and Brent D. Ruben, eds. APPROACHES TO HUMAN COMMUNICATION. New York: Spartan Books, 1972. The viewpoints of twenty-four contributors provide a survey of theories and attitudes toward communication in fields such as art, history, zoology. Each position statement reflects the world view within which each type of communicator conceptualizes and is, therefore, able to accept statements about his field.

Cazden, Courtney B., Vera P. John, and Dell Hymes, eds. FUNCTIONS OF LANGUAGE IN THE CLASSROOM. New York: Teachers College Press, 1972. Focusing on early education, the twenty contributors consider language problems which affect all classrooms—supplying perspectives on nonverbal communication, discussions of varieties of language and verbal repertoire, and of varieties of communicative strategies. They attempt an ethnography of communication in classrooms.

Smith, Holly. "Standard or Nonstandard: Is There an Answer?" ELEMENTARY ENGLISH, 50 (February, 1973). 225-235. This research report-survey summarizes the controversy of school attitudes toward dialect and acceptability, a controversy which must be faced before staff can react to students' needs.

Williams, Frederick, *et al.* "Ethnic Stereotyping and Judgments of Children's Speech," SPEECH MONOGRAPHS, 38 (August, 1971), 166-170. Working with the "Pygmalion effect" (attitudes which language characteristics may elicit in listeners), the researchers investigate biases which lead to stereotypes. Implications for teacher training are considered.

XIV. How Does Dialect Affect Employability?

Billiard, Charles, Arnold Lazarus, and Raven I. McDavid, Jr. IDENTIFICATION OF DIALECT FEATURES WHICH AFFECT BOTH SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMONG THE URBAN DISADVANTAGED. Final Report. Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, 1969. (EDRS—ED 038 483). The authors undertook a study to determine (1) dialect features associated with three ethnic groups (Anglo, Black, Latin American) and four social classes which were unacceptable to a dominant, urban culture (Fort Wayne, Indiana), (2) social markers which might handicap such speakers socio-economically and culturally, and (3) the implications of this for teacher preparation and classroom teaching. The results offer specific illustrations of code markers which may affect socio-economic mobility.

O'Neil, Wayne. "The Politics of Bidialectalism," COLLEGE ENGLISH, 33 (January, 1972), 433-39. A linguist considers the underlying ideology of school language programs and argues that they are informed by economic-political requirements. Bidialectalism is viewed as "part of the social and political machinery meant to control."

Sledd, James. "Bi-Dialectalism: The Linguistics of White Supremacy," ENGLISH JOURNAL, 58 (December, 1969), 1307-1315. A linguist argues against bidialectalism as a politically-oriented move to control minorities and as an answer to economic mobility needs.

Sledd, James. "Doublespeak: Dialectology in the Service of Big Brother," COLLEGE ENGLISH, 33 (January, 1972), 439-57. Also in Smith (1972). A dialectologist discusses the racial and political implications of the controversy over minority dialects, stating that "doublespeak" is used as a political, economic weapon for control.

XV. What Sort of Knowledge about Language Do English Teachers Need?

Aarons, Alfred C., Barbara Y. Gordon, and William A. Stewart, eds. LINGUISTIC-CULTURAL DIFFERENCES AND AMERICAN EDUCATION. Special Issue. FLORIDA FL REPORTER, 7 (Spring/Summer, 1969). Multiple viewpoints, classroom projects and research results of forty-three contributors are arranged to focus on the cultural role of the school, on linguistic pluralism, on English teaching, on theory, and on curriculum development in this overview of current concerns.

Abrahams, Roger D., and Rudolph C. Troike, eds. LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN AMERICAN EDUCATION. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1972. This introductory reader organizes its thirty-five articles to consider the interactions of cultural pluralism, linguistic knowledge, socio-linguistic approaches, and educational applications to our present understandings. Several articles illustrate these considerations through responses to Black English.

Allen, Harold, ed. READINGS IN APPLIED ENGLISH LINGUISTICS. Second Edition. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1964. Sixty-two articles are organized to represent the spectrum of linguistic thought and application through 1960. Historical background, current viewpoints, linguistic geography, usage, dictionary development, and linguistics' contributions to the teaching of grammar, composition, and literature are considered.

Allen, Harold B., and Gary N. Underwood, eds. READINGS IN AMERICAN DIALECTOLOGY. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1971. This introductory reader presents forty-one research statements arranged for the study of regional and social dialects.

Bailey, Richard W., and Jay L. Robinson. VARIETIES OF PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1973. This introductory reader investigates the causes, differences, and persistence of varieties of English and considers teaching strategies through the statements of eighteen contributors. Study problems are included.

Baugh, Albert C. A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. Second Edition. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957. This standard language history traces the changes that have taken place over 1500 years and relates those changes to the political and social events of English history.

Bentley, Robert H., and Samuel D. Crawford, eds. BLACK LANGUAGE READER. Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1973. This arrangement of twenty-nine statements from research, media, and classroom sources represents a self-contained introductory course for teachers in the origins, uses, and misuses of Black English.

Bolinger, Dwight. ASPECTS OF LANGUAGE. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968. This introductory text is designed to familiarize the reader with the terms and concepts of linguistics. Ways of talking about language are developed through careful definitions and question-application sequences after each chapter.

Cattell, N. R. THE NEW ENGLISH GRAMMAR: A DESCRIPTIVE INTRODUCTION. Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1969. This introduction to generative transformational

grammar presents a nontechnical description of the features of English grammar and the design of language.

Chase, Stuart. THE TYRANNY OF WORDS. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938. A discussion of how the words we select can distort our views is presented in a highly readable way.

Chomsky, Noam. ASPECTS OF THE THEORY OF SYNTAX. Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1965. A study of developments in transformational generative grammar reviews, extends, and modifies earlier theory. Emphasis is on syntactic rather than phonological or semantic aspects of language.

Davis, Philip W. MODERN THEORIES OF LANGUAGE. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973. Nine twentieth century theories of language (i.e., the theories of Saussure, Hjelmslev, Bloomfield, the Post-Bloomfieldians, and the Prague School; tagmemics; Firthian linguistics; stratificational grammar; transformational generative grammar) are characterized and discussed for the linguistically knowledgeable reader.

Dillard, J. L. BLACK ENGLISH: ITS HISTORY AND USAGE IN THE UNITED STATES. New York: Random House, 1972. The ramifications of Black English, its historical development, and its cultural validity and the implications of such information for teacher training and classroom practices are explained by the author. (See Chapter VII for his discussion of the harm done Black students by failing them on the basis of dialect.)

Elgin, Suzette Haden. WHAT IS LINGUISTICS? Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1973. This elementary text provides an introduction to phonology, syntax, semantics, historical linguistics, psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, stylistics, applied linguistics, field linguistics.

Falk, Julia S. LINGUISTICS AND LANGUAGE. Lexington: Xerox College Publishing, 1973. An introductory survey of basic concepts and applications of linguistics moves the reader through consideration of words, sounds and sound systems, writing, speaker control of language, grammar, dialect, language acquisition, and teaching issues.

Fishman, Joshua A., ed. READINGS IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE. The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1968. This reader is designed to give a socio-linguistic perspective through forty-five articles which consider language in small-group interaction, in social strata and sectors, through socio-cultural organization, and within the scope of multilingualism, language shift, and planning.

Francis, W. Nelson. THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. New York: Norton, 1965. An analysis of how English works is developed from the structuralists' viewpoint.

Fries, Charles C. AMERICAN ENGLISH GRAMMAR. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1940. This descriptive grammar which concentrates on uses of word form, uses of function words, and uses of word order draws its data and conclusions from contemporary social discourse (i.e., personal letters). It also considers the role of the school in grammar and language teaching.

Greenbaum, Sidney, and Randolph Quirk. ELICITATION EXPERIMENTS IN ENGLISH. (Miami Linguistics Series No. 10) Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1970. This report is a description of linguistic testing methods by which types of socio-linguistic acceptability may be identified and categorized. Differences between attitudes and beliefs about usage and actual usage habits are investigated through elicited items of linguistic behavior.

Grinder, John T., and Suzette Haden Elgin. GUIDE TO TRANSFORMATIONAL GRAMMAR. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973. This elementary text introduces the basic concepts of transformational grammar through thirteen chapters, each of which presents some aspect of the history, theory, and practice of that grammar. Teaching exercises with answers are provided.

Gumperz, John J., and Dell Hymes. DIRECTIONS IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972. An ethnography of communication is presented through nineteen articles which explain (1) the socio-cultural shaping of ways of speaking, (2) procedures for discovering and stating rules of conversation and address, and (3) origin, persistence, and change of varieties of language.

Hayakawa, S. I. LANGUAGE IN THOUGHT AND ACTION. Third Edition. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972. This discussion of semantics provides an introduction to the study of the role and uses of language in modifying behavior, transmitting information, developing social cohesion, and expressing the imagination.

Herndon, Jeanne H. A SURVEY OF MODERN GRAMMARS. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970. This handbook enables the reader to survey developments and concerns of modern grammars (structural and transformational-generative) and of varieties of American English. Implications of linguistics for the teaching of literature and composition are also surveyed.

Huddleston, Rodney D. THE SENTENCE IN WRITTEN ENGLISH. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971. Working within the theoretical framework of transformational grammar, this syntactic study describes the grammar of written scientific English using a limited corpus of 135,000 words. However, "common-core" English grammar concerns are investigated through that corpus.

Jacobs, Roderick A., and Peter S. Rosenbaum. ENGLISH TRANSFORMATIONAL GRAMMAR. Waltham: Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1968. This elementary text is based on a transformational model and moves from a description of principles of linguistic universals through discussion of constituents and features, transformations, embedding, and conjunction.

Jacobs, Roderick A., and Peter S. Rosenbaum. READINGS IN ENGLISH TRANSFORMATIONAL GRAMMAR. Waltham: Xerox College Publishing, 1970. Theoretical statements by thirteen transformational-generative linguists present current research in the concept of deep and surface structures.

Jespersen, Otto. ESSENTIALS OF ENGLISH GRAMMAR. University: University of Alabama Press, 1964. This "signal" grammar of the spoken language investigates the development of sound systems, word classes, syntax, word form, and habits in language varieties. Other-language grammatical comparisons are made wherever feasible.

Katz, Jerrold J. THE PHILOSOPHY OF LANGUAGE. New York: Harper & Row, 1966. This systematic approach to a philosophy of language provides for explanation of language from a twentieth century perspective, discussion of the current theory of language, and consideration of the implications of that theory for understanding conceptual knowledge.

Katz, Jerrold J. SEMANTIC THEORY. New York: Harper & Row, 1972. This depth study of semantic theory attempts an integrated body of definitions of meaning, sameness/difference of meaning, and multiplicity of meaning, and of the constraints at work in the development of meaning.

Kochman, Thomas, ed. RAPPIN' AND STYLIN' OUT: COMMUNICATION IN URBAN BLACK AMERICA. Champaign-Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972. A study of communication in the urban Black situation is presented through the views of twenty-seven contributors. The reader reviews the spectrum of Black communication from nonverbal to verbal, from expressive uses of language to expressive role behavior, and through vocabulary and culture. Visual and verbal illustrations are abundant.

Labov, William. LANGUAGE IN THE INNER CITY: STUDIES IN THE BLACK ENGLISH VERNACULAR. (Conduct and Communication No. 3.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972. Nine essays (three previously unpublished) present a reorganization and rewriting of several earlier statements into an organized study of the structure, social setting, and uses of the Black English vernacular.

Labov, William. SOCIOLINGUISTIC PATTERNS. (Conduct and Communication No. 4) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972. Two new statements on contextual style and subjective dimensions of change are added to revisions of earlier statements on social change and motivation in language in this nine-essay collection.

Langacker, Ronald W. LANGUAGE AND ITS STRUCTURE. Second Edition. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968. This introduction to language presents modern views of the nature, structure, and components of language and language variety. Language change, language families, and linguistic systems are considered.

Lehmann, Winfred P. DESCRIPTIVE LINGUISTICS: AN INTRODUCTION. New York: Random House, 1972. This survey text presents the data of language through chapters dealing with phonetics, syntax and analysis, inflection and derivation. Also included are explanatory chapters on semantics, language theory, psycho- and sociolinguistics, and applied linguistics.

Liles, Bruce L. AN INTRODUCTORY TRANSFORMATIONAL GRAMMAR. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971. This elementary text fuses transformational theory and application throughout its treatment of phrase structure, transformations, and phonological components.

Lloyd, Donald J., and Harry R. Warfel. AMERICAN ENGLISH IN ITS CULTURAL SETTING. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956. This descriptive introduction to how English works in American society treats speech and writing in terms of language learning and the role of the individual in society.

Long, Ralph B. and Dorothy R. THE SYSTEM OF ENGLISH GRAMMAR. Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1971. The structure of contemporary standard English prose is described and demonstrated in this traditional grammar. It is a "grammar of sets" which explains grammatical functions, clause types, parts of speech, and word formation and is concerned with pedagogical considerations.

Marckwardt, Albert H., and Randolph Quirk. A COMMON LANGUAGE: BRITISH AND AMERICAN ENGLISH. London: Cox and Wyman, Ltd., 1966. A discussion of the differences and similarities between British and American English is rendered through twelve dialogues. The varietal differences in each have resulted from the demands of history, politics, economics, social and cultural change. Emphasis is on positive changes in response to the needs of situational context.

McKnight, George. "Conservatism in American Speech," AMERICAN SPEECH, 1 (October, 1925), 1-17. An illustrated discussion of the history of linguistic conservatism in America to 1925 points out the various influences and groups which have not recognized the positive movements of linguistic change but have attempted to maintain a dichotomy between correctness and natural idiom.

Pooley, Robert C. THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH USAGE. Second Edition. Urbana: NCTE, 1974. Background and facts about usage are balanced against teaching procedures. Problems raised by concern for correctness and propriety are investigated. The requirements of language variety, attitude, and historical developments are considered.

Pyles, Thomas. THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. Second Edition. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1971. This descriptive history of the language is concerned with a chronological treatment of the phonological and grammatical development of English.

Quirk, Randolph, and Sidney Greenbaum. A CONCISE GRAMMAR OF CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973. This transformational grammar (a shorter version of A GRAMMAR OF CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH) provides a model and data for understanding varieties of English, elements of grammar, phrasal and syntactic patterning, and kinds of prominence (i.e., focus, theme, and emotive emphasis).

Smith, Alfred G., ed. COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966. Signals, codes, and meanings of human communication are investigated through a sequential arrangement of fifty-five contributors' statements dealing with theory, syntactics, semantics, and pragmatics.

Smith, Arthur L., ed. LANGUAGE, COMMUNICATION, AND RHETORIC IN BLACK AMERICA. New York: Harper & Row, 1972. This collection of twenty-nine essays by communications specialists and educators discusses the communication process in its totality, i.e., dialect, styles, tone, situational context, rhetorical intention. Several case studies and F. Erickson's comparison of white and Black college students in rap sessions contribute to the illustration of the theme.

Steinberg, Danny D., and Leon A. Jakobovits, eds. SEMANTICS: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY READER IN PHILOSOPHY, LINGUISTICS, AND PSYCHOLOGY. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971. This collection of thirty-three articles representing several fields of study deals with the nature, source and dimensions of linguistic meaning.

Stockwell, Robert P., Paul Schachter, and Barbara Hall Partee. THE MAJOR SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES OF ENGLISH. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973. This survey of transformational grammar and theory is based on Fillmore's Case Grammar framework and is comprehensive in its treatment.

Whorf, Benjamin Lee. LANGUAGE, THOUGHT AND REALITY. Ed. John B. Carroll. Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1967. These selected writings present Whorf's linguistic examination of the ways in which thinking is dependent on language and the ways in which language affects one's vision of the world.

Williams, Frederick *et al.* SOCIOLINGUISTICS: A CROSSDISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVE. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1971. A survey of interactions of the five fields of speech/communication, psychology, education, sociolinguistics and linguistics/anthropology is presented through eleven contributors' statements-responses about social dialect.

Williamson, Juanita V., and Virginia M. Burke, eds. A VARIOUS LANGUAGE. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971. This introductory reader surveys the history and scope of dialect studies through the statements of fifty contributors.

Compiled by Jenefer M. Giannasi
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